3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.466-A]

625 626 The "police force", made up of ten Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 178 756 [128] More recently, the breakdown of certain structural features and competition between new and old leaders have undermined nonviolent methods for the maintenance of social control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

[124] (*1*) *Organization of the curing profession.* Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> [174] If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*stalal ʔuʔuletik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *huʔeletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzoʔontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

621 The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
794 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
561 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings. The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzo'ontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 •	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.		
Regidores: †	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.

(*cont.*)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

• [625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu,* or townhall, and offices in the *čʼulna,* holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: ***alkaletik***, alcaldes or judges; ***rehiroletik***, regidores; and ***mayoletik***, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, ***alkaletik*** is of greater prestige (***mas mamališ***, senior), ***rehiroletik*** next, and ***mayoletik*** least. Thus there are in the ***alkaletik*** category: ***primero alkal***, first judge; ***sčebal alkal***, second judge; ***čeb suplente alkal***, two assistant judges. In the ***rehiroletik*** category there are: ***primero rehirol***, first regidor; ***sčebal rehirol***, second regidor; ***yošebal rehirol***, third regidor; ***čunebal rehirol***, fourth regidor. In the ***mayoletik*** category there are: ***primero mayol***, first policeman; ***sčebal mayol***, second policeman; ***yošebal mayol***, third policeman; ***sčanebal mayol***, fourth policeman; and ***spoil mayol***, last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, ***ahkʼolnantik***, and one from the lower division, ***alannantik***. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

[P. 213-A]

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?aš martomaetik)* (App. 2,

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalambe solilak tuyipal Un' maktenil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *sakawone* with the *sok'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancients
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#621 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *halaial* then the first judge went to the *sakiwone* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *sakawone* and to the *mo?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time.
[202] [625]				Two past regidores came to the *mo?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
	[23. Omitted.]			
#621 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *sakil* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madrosal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		